TITOITE YUGOSLAVIA
AT THE CROSSROADS

TIRANA, 1966

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What happened and what will happen later on in Yugoslavia is the logical result of the betrayal of the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia and of Marxism-Leninism by the Titoite clique. The national-liberation war which the peoples of Yugoslavia waged so heroically was taken advantage of by the Titoite clique not to bring happiness and socialism to Yugoslavia but to overthrow the Servian monarch and to replace him with Croatian monarch Tito, to overthrow the old Serbo-Croatian bourgeoisie and to place the new Serbo-Croatian bourgeoisie under the guise of «communism, socialism» on the backs of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Into the road the Titoite clique placed them the peoples of Yugoslavia have had to shed blood, to suffer, to be tortured, to be misled by this clique of renegades which, after many years, arrived at the present catastrophy which will be followed by others. The peoples of Yugoslavia will still shed blood, will suffer a great deal more, for if this has been the phase of the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, the phase they are going through will be one of political, economical and armed rivalries. The internal struggle in Yugoslavia has just begun, but it will

continue to develop for power, for hegemony and plots and reprisals will follow one another. There will be a struggle between the Servian and the Croatian-Slovenian udbashes, a struggle to gain the mastery of the army, a bitter struggle between Servian and Croatian-Slovenian clans, a struggle between the smaller and poorer Republics and the bigger and richer Republics, a struggle among various nationalities and this will be made more intensive by a religious feud which, on its part, will do its own work.

Titoite Yugoslavia is turning into «a keg of powder». Yugoslavia is at the crossroads. Only an armed proletarian revolution guided by a new, genuine Marxist-Leninist Party can save and will save Yugoslavia from catastrophy.

It is clear that Servian Rankovich's group with its UDB apparatus and relying mainly on the new Servian bourgeoisie, on a considerable number of cadres in the army and in various Republics on cadres of identical ideological views or compromised by Rankovich's organs, attempted to seize power in Yugoslavia. This group suffered a temporary setback but it did not lay down its arms and it does not seem likely that it will lay down its arms inspite of the strict measures which the opposing Tito-Kardelj-Bakarich clique is taking.

Rankovich's Serbomanian clique must surely have been working for a long time in this direction and shou'd have been certain that it would have carried out its putsch in a quiet normal way without many «breakages». As a matter of fact Tito was aware of this activity and hushed it up conscientiously so long as this activity of the Ser-

bomanian clique kept within the bounds of his direction. Tito played the role of an acrobat between rival clans and Rankovich had full confidence that after Tito's natural or forced death he would take his place according to the «famous new Constitution».

A «quiet and normal» evolution of the kind was, however, impossible to take place in a Yugoslavia where capitalism had been established, where the law of the jungle reigned supreme, where chauvinism was at its height, in a Yugoslavia colonized politically and economically by various imperialists and, first and foremost, U.S. imperialists. There it is the imperialists who make the law for they have made large investments of capital which they must protect under every eventuality which must yield large cut-and-dried profits, profits which come out of sucking the blood of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Because of this internal situation of Yugoslavia the «unity» of the bloody Tito-Rankovich-Kardelj-Bakarich etc. clique could not last long regardless of the fact that its members have been are and will always be in complete unity against Marxism-Leninism, against the Party of Labor of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist Parties, against the People's Republic of Albania and other People's Republics which stand adamant on socialist grounds.

Treachery to Marxism-Leninism on the part of the Titoite clique brought about (and it could not but bring about) a split in their ranks, would give rise, as it did, to nationalist rivalry and chauvinism among its members and, as a consequence, the various national groupings in Yugoslavia which

tried to assert themselves would strengthen their positions in the state, in economy and in the army, each on the back of the other and of the less powerful. The course of the old Serbo-Croatian nationalist-chauvinist rivalries was revived and set on foot.

Tito himself is obliged to admit the existence of these capitalist groupings within the ranks of Titoism but he tries to camouflage this reality by resorting to the use of the Party term of «groupage». But it is a fact that the question of the «League of Yugoslav Communists» plays no role and has no influence whatsoever in this squabble for it has long degenerated, it has been devested of all authority. No one had faith in and relied on the «League of Yugoslav Communists» except Rankovich who, in his capacity as its organizational secretary, used it as his own estate and had turned it into a purely auxilliary apparatus of the UDB. The actual «reorganization» of the «League of Yugoslav Communists», which the Tito-Kardelj-Bakarich clique speaks so loudly of is nothing but the liquidation of this tool of the Rankovichian UDB and the creation of a new security machinery to protect the clique of the Croatian-Slovenian «ustash»-es. The capitalist groupings which were formed during this first period in Yugoslavia had the support of foreign imperialists, of the Americans, Soviet revisionists, the English, Italians and others, on the basis of their specific ties. The struggle among these capitalist groupings inside Yugoslavia is waged and will be waged for the purpose of deciding which one of them would gain control of the army, of state security and of the capitalist economic power, but every success, even a tem-

porary one, of whichever group will have superiority, must have the support of that imperialist state which has gained possession of the more powerful economic positions and has the strongest agents in Yugoslavia. It is thus clear that the imperialist state which reigns in Titoite Yugoslavia and which makes the law there is none other than the United States of America.

The interests of U.S. imperialism, be they political or economical, demand that its Yugoslav agents headed by Tito should not only betray Marxism-Leninism, should not only plot against and undermine the other socialist countries but establish in Yugoslavia itself «decentralization» and «self-management», establish the most suitable forms for re-establishing capitalism, for making free capitalist investments in those sectors of economy which would be more fruitful for the imperialists both as regards economy and politics. It could of course not interest and it does not interest the U.S. and other foreign capitalists to invest in those Republics of Yugoslavia that do not yield high profits. What do the Americans and their Yugoslav agents with Tito in the lead care if Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia or Kosova and Metohia remain poor Republics, underdeveloped, sources for raw material and cheap labor for the richer Republics and the U.S. trusts?

On the other hand, in order to rule, U.S. imperialism, like all imperialisms, must divide. Decentralization established in Yugoslavia was, in other words, the U.S. policy of causing a split, of doing away with the new Serbomanian hegemony which pursued the economic, political and social traditions

of the old one, of the Servian monarchs. From events which are developing in Yugoslavia it should result that Rankovich's clique, which had the support of the Serbomanian bourgeoisie, had UDB's support but less of the support of the Americans.

«Titoite decentralization and self-management» would undermine the traditional dominating positions of Servian chauvinism of Servian capital which held in check and under its mercy all the other peoples of Yugoslavia, it would weaken the administrative and police power of Rankovich's Servian clique to the benefit of the other Croatian-Slovenian capitalist clique and the U.S. imperialists.

Therefore, Rankovich's Serbomanian clique got wise to the danger and took serious steps to check and to liquidate, when coming to power, this new form «of administrating the economy and the state» not because it was not «socialist», but because it was in reality a capitalist form disfavoring and undermining the «historical» Servian hegemony.

In this struggle for power it is evident that the Croatian-Slovenian clique had the support of the Americans. Apparently, Rankovich's Servian clique, in its attempt to neutralize this obstacle, entered into secret negotiations with and contacted Kremlin's Russomanian revisionist clique and was about to strike up a modern Czarist alliance, inspired by the old chauvinist traditions of pan-Slavism. Tito implied as much when he reproached Rankovich with resorting to what they call «Stalinist methods». These traitors are too wretched to come up to Stalin but the question arises: Where was this Tito, this frenzied anti-Stalinist who, all these

last fifteen years, failed to see these so-called «Stalinist» methods and failed to take steps to combat them? UDB's methods have been typical Yugoslav fascist methods adopted by Tito, against which Stalin as a great Marxist has fought with might and main up to the last days of his life. But it is not a question of methods; in this way Tito wanted to surreptitiously denounce Rankovich's connections with Kremlin's treacherous clique.

Events make it more evident that the credits that flowed in from the Soviets to Titoite Yugoslavia were intended to strengthen Rankovich's Servian clique which they did not fail to proclaim as «more positive, more to the left», in order to dominate and trample underfoot the other Croatian-Slovenian clique which has apparently gained the upper hand in economy being not less powerful in the army as it has Tito on its side and which enjoys, above all, the full confidence of the Americans.

Thus, the rivalries which are developing in Yugoslavia are closely related to the rivalries between external wolves who want to rule over the peoples of Yugoslavia, that is, primarily to the rivalry between the U.S.A. and the Soviet revisionists.

This is a life and death struggle.

World imperialism and Soviet revisionism together with their agents in the Balkans and Central Europe, aim at creating in the Balkans and in Central Europe the situation prior to the First World War and in the interval between the two World Wars, they aim at re-establishing the zones of their capitalist interests, at re-establishing

the old alliances and spheres of influence, they aim at sowing dissension and starting bloodshed among the peoples of the Balkans and of Central Europe, at reviving old feuds.

This is their course of action while we, the people and genuine communists of the Balkans and of Central Europe, should and will frustrate these schemes of our frenzied enemies.

In this struggle for power in the ranks of Titoism between clans supported by the Americans and Soviet revisionists respectively we see the delineation and clarification of political relations, in some cases dictated in others prompted by national inclinations or so-called «socialist» but which are but revisionist calculations or by accounts falsified for a definite purpose. We see that the revisionist cliques in power in the Balkans, in Central and Eastern Europe are on the move. Some obedient lackeys of the Soviet revisionists came into such close contact with the Yugoslav Titoites these recent years that they almost linked up with them. Now these lackeys await orders from Moscow to start their chauvinist revendications towards Yugoslavia. Others, anti-Slav to the marrow, uphold Tito and continue to proclaim Yugoslavia a socialist country not because Tito is not a Slav but that he is primarily pro-American pro-Western, because he exchanged kisses with the demo-Christian Latins and established diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Others, who want to get rid once and for all time of the shackles of the Soviet revisionists, serenade to Tito and continue to call him their savior.

Thus, on one hand the U.S. imperialists play

their card with their cliques and, on the other, the Soviet revisionists play their card with their cliques. It is a fact that actually U.S.A. with its clique has won and the Soviet revisionists with Rankovich have lost in Yugoslavia.

What is renegade Tito's role in this?

Tito has been in complete agreement with all the crimes which have been committed in Yugoslavia, he has been the principal instigator and director, he is an arrant traitor of the peoples of Yugoslavia and of Marxism-Leninism, he has been fully at one with Rankovich so long as he and the Servian clique were loyal to his leadership and did not jeopardize his pro-U.S. internal and external policy for Tito has been tied by a thousand threads and for all time with U.S. imperialism.

Tito's policy is that of U.S. imperialism which has always aimed and aims not only at wrecking socialism everywhere but especially at wrecking the Soviet Union which has been transformed by the Khrushchevite revisionist leaders into a bourgeois state. Being in the service of U.S.A. Tito's clique can go as far as to break the Yugoslav Federation itself for the sake of a greater interest of U.S. imperialism, to set the «positive» example of «specific socialism» in order to split the Soviet Union into separate Republics, to split Czechoslovakia into Czechs and Slovaks, etc. «Divide and rule» is the law of imperialist domination.

Tito is one of the artisans of the catastrophy in the Soviet Union, therefore, in the rivalry between the Americans and Soviet revisionists to establish an hegemony over the world, Tito has sided and will always side with the Americans; that is why

he sides with the Croatian-Slovenian capitalist clique which has anti-Russian and pro-Western traditions.

Of course, Tito thought twice when he decided to break with the Servian clique, for he is very much afraid of it, but he felt obliged to do this because Rankovich's Servian clique was getting out of his hands and of the Americans and would create a situation in capitalist Yugoslavia where Tito would be done away with and Rankovich, who would take his place would then try to maneuver between the Americans and the Soviet revisionists.

The Tito-Kardelj-Bakarich clique is well aware of and will always feel the impending Serbomanian danger and fear, threatening it. Thus, we will witness the further development of this situation, which will reach the highest point of aggravation, not ruling out the eventual dissolution of the Federation and an armed struggle.

Yugoslavia is at the cross-roads: it will either be chopped up between internal and rival external capitalist cliques or the Yugoslav people should rise and will rise up and revolt again under the leadership of genuine Yugoslav Marxist-Leninists and make short work of this clique of bloodsuckers in order to bring Yugoslavia back to the ways of the heroes of the National-liberation War, of Arso Jovanovich and those massacred at Goli Otok, of Marxism-Leninism and true socialism. There is no other way and only the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Marxist-Leninists themselves will have to and will surely chose this way.